

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-15 HA-05 /075 W
-----107314 101807Z /53

P R 101645Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 014
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL BELFAST

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 DUBLIN 0070

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, UK, EI
SUBJECT: EXTRACT FROM IRISH PRIME MINISTER LYNCH'S RADIO
EIREAN INTERVIEW, JANUARY 8. (EMBASSY TRANSCRIPT FROM
TAPE.)

1. BEGIN TEXT

Q. TURNING TO THE NORTH OF IRELAND, COULD I ASK YOU WHAT
ARE YOUR RELATIONS LIKE WITH THE PRESENT BRITISH GOVERNMENT?

A. QUITE GOOD, I'VE KNOWN THE PRIME MINISTER, JAMES CALLAGHAN
FOR A LONG TIME, HE WAS CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUOR WHEN I
WAS MINISTER FOR FINANCE AND I MET HIM AT WORLD BANK MEETINGS
I REMEMBER THAT TIME WE HAD THE PROBLEM ABOUT THE RESTRICTION
OF INVESTMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON THEIR OWN PEOPLE
WHICH AFFECTED US TO SOME EXTENT AND I RAISED THAT WITH HIM
AS AN ASIDE DURING ONE OF THE WORLD BANK MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON
AND I FOUND HIM VERY VERY CONSIDERATE AND SYMPATHETIC AND HE
DID SOMETHING ABOUT THAT LITTLE PROBLEM ON THAT OCCASSION. AS
YOU KNOW I'VE MET HIM SINCE THEN, I'VE MET HIM OFFICIALLY IN
THE END OF LAST SEPTEMBER AND AGAIN I FOUND OUR RELATIONS
WERE QUITE GOOD AND I GET ON WELL WITH HIM OF COURSE HE LOOKS
AFTER HIS END AND I TRY TO LOOK AFTER MINE, HE DOESN'T GOVE
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AWAY TOO MUCH NOR DO I GIVE AWAY MUCH AT ALL BUT I WENT
THAT TIME AS YOU KNOW BECAUSE THERE WAS AN APPREHENSION APART
FROM THE FACT THAT I WANTED TO MEET HIM ANYWAY MY HAVING COME
INTO OFFICE QUITE RECENTLY, THERE WAS AN APPREHENSION THAT
THERE WAS A MOVE TOWARDS INTEGRATION IN THE NORTH, IN OTHER
WORDS THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD COMPLETELY ABSORB THE
NORTH WITHOUT ANY FORM OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE SIX COUNTIES

AND THAT APPREHENSION WAS BORN OF TWO MAJOR FACTORS; 1. THE BELIEF THAT THERE WAS SOME KIND OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNIONISTS AND THE LABOR PARTY THAT BECAUSE THE UNIONISTS WOULD SUPPORT THE LABOR PARTY IN THEIR DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE VOTING DIVISIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME QUID PRO QUO FOR THEM. THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED AS DIMINISHING THE INTENTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TOWARDS POWER-SHARING ADMINISTRATION IN THE NORTH AND AS WELL AS THAT THERE WAS, HAD BEEN STARTED, THERE WAS AT THE TIME WHAT THEY CALL THE SPEAKER'S CONFERENCE WHICH APPARENTLY IS A NECESSARY PRE-EXERCISE BEFORE INCREASED REPRESENTATION IS GIVEN TO ANY PARTICULAR AREA AND THE PURPOSE OF THIS SPEAKER'S CONFERENCE I UNDERSTAND IS TO EXAMINE WHETHER INCREASED REPRESENTATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE SIX COUNTIES IN WESTMINSTER PARLIAMENT, SO THESE TWO FACTORS GAVE RISE TO THE APPREHENSION THAT I'VE REFERRED TO BUT I DID GET IT FROM MR. CALLAGHAN ON THAT OCCASION A FIRM UNDERTAKING THAT THERE IS GOING TO BE NO POWER-SHARING WITHOUT, THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT WITHOUT POWER-SHARING AND IN FACT HE RE-INFORCED IT BY SAYING UNLESS THERE WAS POWER-SHARING THERE WOULD NOT BE DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. AS WELL AS THAT HE TOLD ME THAT THERE WAS NO SUGGESTION WHATEVER THAT BECAUSE OF SOME SUPPORT GIVEN BY THE UNIONISTS IN THE DIVISION LOBBIES TO THE LABOR PARTY IN THEIR DIFFICULTIES AS THERE HAD BEEN UP TO THE NORTH WAS CONCERNED, IN OTHER WORDS A DEAL AS FAR AS GIVING THE UNIONISTS ANY CONCESSIONS. SO I WAS GLAD TO ESTABLISH THAT.

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WELL, NOW OVER AND ABOVE THAT OF COURSE, AS YOU KNOW, MR. CALLAGHAN IS IN DIFFICULTIES AS FAR AS HIS POSITION OR RATHER THAT OF HIS PARTY GOES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND AT ANY GIVEN MOMENT HE COULD BE DEFEATED ON A MAJOR ISSUE AND THEREFORE WOULD HAVE TO "GO TO THE COUNTRY." NATURALLY ITS IN HIS INTERESTS TO PICK HIS TIME IF HE CAN AND I BELIEVE HE IS NOW LIKELY TO WEATHER THAT STORM BUT FOR HOW LONG I DON'T KNOW. ITS GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT THERE WILL BE AN ELECTION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM BEFORE THIS YEAR IS OUT, AGAIN THAT'S A MATTER FOR THEM... I DON'T KNOW BUT, I THINK AT THE MOMENT MR. CALLAGHAN IS PREOCCUPIED WITH THAT SITUATION HE WANTS TO GET BACK TO OFFICE NATURALLY AND HE HAS A LOT OF THINGS ON HIS PLATE. AS WELL AS THAT WHEN WE WENT TO LONDON ON THAT OCCASSION MR. ROY MASON WHO WAS PRESENT AT THE MEETING SAID THAT THINGS WERE IN A RATHER DELICATE STAGE THEN BECAUSE HE HAD BEEN OR WAS ABOUT TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE SIX COUNTIES TO SEE IF HE COULD GET A FORM OF DEVOLVED ADMINISTRATION AND, WELL, HE SAID IT WAS DELICATE. I ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT WAS SINCE HE DID SAY SO, SINCE THEN, HE HAS HAD MEETINGS WITH THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND SUBSEQUENTLY THERE WERE MEETINGS OF HIS OFFICIALS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES. SO THERE IS AN ONGOING SITUATION AT LEAST AND I HOPE THAT IT WILL LEAD TO A DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT AND

WITH POWER-SHARING. WELL THAT IS I THINK A SITUATION THAT WAS
COMMON CAUSE IN THE LAST GOVERNMENT AND BEFORE THAT WE SUPPORTED
THE LAST GOVERNMENT IN CREATING A CLIMATE THAT WOULD BE CONDUCIVE
TOWARDS THE CREATION OF A DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. AS YOU KNOW THERE
WAS ONE ... THAT WAS IN 1974 WHICH WAS DEFEATED BECAUSE OF THE
UNIONISTS STRIKE, AND I HOPE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO GET ANOTHER
ONE BECAUSE WITHOUT A GOVERNMENT IN THE NORTH ... WITHOUT AN

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-15 HA-05 /075 W
-----107170 101806Z /53

P R 101645Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
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ADMINISTRATION, I SHOULD CALL IT, IN THE NORTH TO WHICH ALL
PEOPLE CAN SUBSCRIBE, THEN THERE IS UNLIKELY TO BE ANY PEACE, BUT
AT THE SAME TIME, I TOLD MR. CALLAGHAN ABOUT OUR LONG TERM AMBITIONS
AND I TOLD HIM THAT THESE WILL REMAIN OUR LONG TERM AMBITIONS
THAT IS THE ULTIMATE UNITY OF ALL THE IRISH PEOPLE.

2. Q. DO YOU SEE A UNITED IRELAND WITHIN YOUR LIFE TIME?

A. WELL YOU COULD SAY I DON'T KNOW HOW LONG I'LL LIVE BUT, I
THINK I COULD WISH TO SEE A FORM OF ADMINISTRATION NORTH AND
SOUTH THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE MAJORITY OF THE IRISH PEOPLE
IF NOT COMPLETE UNITY ON THE ONE GOVERNMENT. I THINK WE COULD
HOPE FOR A FORM OF ADMINISTRATION THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE EVEN
IF IT WAS AN INTERIM ACCEPTABILITY DURING MY LIFE TIME.

3. Q. IS THAT A PERSONAL PRIORITY?

A. WELL CERTAINLY I'D LIKE BEFORE I DIE JUST TO SEE MOVEMENT
TOWARDS WHAT HAS BEEN THE GOAL OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF IRISHMEN
AND THE ASPIRATION OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF IRISHMEN FOR GENERATIONS.
AND, ITS NOT SO MUCH A PERSONAL OPINION BUT CERTAINLY I WOULD

HOPE ... ITS RATHER A PERSONAL WISH AS FAR AS ANY PERSONAL
GRATIFICATION IS CONCERNED ... BUT I THINK ITS AN ASPIRATION THAT
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I SHARE WITH THE MAJORITY OF MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN AND I'D LIKE TO
SHARE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THAT ASPIRATION WITH THEM.

4. Q. TAOISEACH, HAVE YOU EVER THOUGHT OF SHOWING THE COLOR OF
THE GOVERNMENT'S MONEY TO THE UNIONISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, IN
TERMS OF SAY A WHITE PAPER ON WHAT THE UNITED IRELAND OR THE
TWO-GOVERNMENT IRELAND OF YOUR THOUGHTS WOULD BE?

A. I THINK IT WOULD BE A GOOD EXERCISE BUT IN THE MEAN TIME
WE HAVE BEEN ENGAGING IN A SERIES OF TALKS ON CROSS BORDER
CO-OPERATION AND IN THAT WAY WE'LL BE SHOWING IN A PRACTICAL WAY
THE COLOR OF OUR MONEY. AS YOU KNOW ONE OF THE OUTCOMES OF MY
MEETINGS WITH MR. CALLAGHAN IN SEPTEMBER WAS THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF AN INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE COMPOSED OF SENIOR CIVIL-
SERVANTS, TO EXAMINE WAYS AND MEANS OF INCREASING NOT ONLY
CROSS-BORDER ACTIVITY BUT OUR COOPERATION -- ANGLO-IRISH
COOPERATION -- BUT THE EMPHASIS IS ON CROSS-BORDER ECONOMIC
COOPERATION. IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT THESE ACTIVITIES WHICH
ARE NOW UNDER EXAMINATION THE OFFICERS HAVE MET A FEW TIMES
WE WILL NATURALLY HAVE TO SHOW THE COLOR OF OUR MONEY AND
BECAUSE ITS GOING TO IMPOSE SOME COST ON US TO IMPLEMENT
THEM.

5. Q. BUT DO YOU THINK THE TIME HAS COME TO SHOW THAT ... IN CON-
CRETE TERMS AND IN CONCRETE FORM IN SAY A WHITE PAPER?

A. IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO KNOW AT THIS STAGE TO WHAT
EXTENT A WHITE PAPER COULD SHOW ALL THE PROPOSALS THAT WE
ARE PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT. I THINK WE COULDN'T DO IT
UNILATERALLY ANYWAY BECAUSE W'D HAVE TO KNOW TO WHAT EXTENT
THERE WOULD BE AN INPUT FROM THE NORTH ITSLEF AND AN INPUT
FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND, AS I SAY, IF THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT DECIDED TO EMBARK ON DIS-ENGAGEMENT FROM INVOLVEMENT
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IN IRISH AFFAIRS AT SAY A FUTURE DATE, OBVIOUSLY THERE'D HAVE
TO BE AN EASING-OUT OPERATION... THAT THEY'D HAVE TO GRADUALLY
REDUCE THEIR FINANCIAL COMMITMENT WHICH NOW STANDS SOMETHING
ABOUT 700 MILLION POUNDS A YEAR. I MAY BE WRONG THERE BUT ITS NEAR
ENOUGH TO MAKE NO DIFFERENCE TO ILLUSTRATE THE POINT I'M MAKING.
THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE REDUCED OF COURSE IF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
WERE GOING TO DISENGAGE FROM INVOLVEMENT AND THERE WOULD HAVE

TO BE AN INCREASE IN THE POSSIBILITY OF INCOME WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND ITSELF BY WAY OF TAX OR OTHERWISE. I DON'T REALLY KNOW HOW THEY COULD MAKE IT UP, BUT IT WOULD BE JUST THAT A UNILATERAL EXERCISE IN MY OPINION TURNED OUT TO BE A TRILATERAL EXERCISE; AND HERE THIS IS PART OF THE KIND OF PROPOSITION WE PUT FORWARD IN THE AUTUMN OF 1974 WHEN WE SUGGESTED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT GIVE AN INDICATION ON THEIR INTEREST IN THE UNIFICATION OF IRELAND AS THE ULTIMATE REMEDY FOR OUR PROBLEMS AND THEN BEGAN TO WORK TOWARDS ACHIEVING THAT SITUATION WITHOUT ANY TIME-TABLE AND FOR THAT PURPOSE TO SET UP COMMITTEES, TRILATERAL COMMITTEES. FOR EXAMPLE, ONE WOULD EXAMINE THE VERY THING YOU WERE TALKING ABOUT, WHAT FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS WOULD BE MADE. WE HAD ALL THAT IN OUR POLICY STATEMENT IN 1974. SO WE ARE WILLING CERTAINLY TO DO IT BUT I DON'T THINK THIS WOULD BE A USEFUL EXERCISE AT THIS STAGE TO DO IT UNILATERALLY UNLESS THERE IS GREATER - UNTIL THERE HAS BEEN GREATER POLITICAL PROGRESS.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-15 HA-05 /075 W
-----107264 101806Z /53

P R 101645Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 016
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL BELFAST

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6. Q. WELL, CONVERSLY, DO YOU THINK THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO MAKE THAT LONG AWAITED DECLARATION OF INTENT?

A. I THINK IT HAS, YES. YOU SEE THIS DECLARATION OF INTENT CAN BE INTERPRETED IN A VERY STARK WAY. WE NEVER INTENDED THAT IT BE INTERPRETED AS, SAY, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD GET OUT AT THE END OF A CERTAIN YEAR. WHAT WE WANTED THEM TO DO WAS TO INDICATE THEIR INTEREST IN THE BRINGING OF IRISH PEOPLE TOGETHER AND THEIR INDICATION AS WELL THAT THEY HAVE LITTLE TO OFFER TO IRELAND AS A WHOLE AND THEREFORE IF WE COULD START THE PROCESS OF BRINGING IRISH PEOPLE TOGETHER IF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT COULD INDICATE THAT RATHER THAN MAINTAIN WHAT I HAVE DESCRIBED AS THE NEGATIVE

GUARANTEE WHICH IS CONTAINED IN ALL THE STATUTES, THE 1920 IRELAND ACT, THE 1945 IRELAND ACT, THE ATTLEE ACT, WHICHEVER YEAR IT WAS, THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION WHICH TELLS THAT UNLESS AND UNTIL THERE WAS A MAJORITY IN THE NORTH IN FAVOR OF CHANGING THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF THE NORTH THEN THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE. WELL THAT IS A STEEL WALL UP AGAINST WHICH ANY INTRANSIGENT UNIONIST CAN PUT THEIR BACKS AND NOTHING WILL SHIFT THEM. SO THERE IS THAT THERE ALL THE TIME. AND IF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHO ARE GENERALLY BELIEVED NOT TO HAVE ANY GREAT HEART FOR CONTINUING THE INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH AFFAIRS ... IF THEY INDICATED IN A GENERAL WAY THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEE

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THE IRISH PEOPLE COMING TOGETHER... THAT THEY DON'T WISH TO CONTINUE SUBSIDIZING A SMALL CORNER OF IRELAND TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY HAVE BEEN DOING OVER THE PAST 50 YEARS AND THAT THE BRITISH PEOPLE THEMSELVES HAVE NO STOMACH FOR THAT KIND OF SUBSIDIZATION WHICH INVOLVES TAXATION ON THEM, I BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE IN THE NORTH WOULD BE REALISTIC ENOUGH AND HARD-HEADED ENOUGH TO KNOW THAT (THERE) SHOULD BE AND OUGHT TO BE ACCOMMODATION FOUND BETWEEN THE MINORITY AND THEMSELVES IN THE NORTH IN THE FIRST INSTANCE AND BETWEEN THEM AND US IN THE LONG TERM.

7. Q. HAVE YOU EVER SAID THAT TO MR. CALLAGHAN?

A. I HAVE INDEED, YES, I'VE SAID IT TO MR. HEATH. I'VE SAID IT TO MR. WILSON AND OF COURSE THEY'V LISTENED BUT..

8. Q. HAVE THEY REACTED?

A. WELL THEY HAVEN'T REACTED OPENLY ANYWAY BUT I AM SURE THEY REACTED IN THEIR OWN MINDS AND THEY SAID THEY WISH...AGAIN I CAN'T SPEAK FOR THEM, BUT I AM SURE THEY DID SAY IN THEIR OWN MINDS THEY WISH THAT WE COULD BRING THIS HAPPY SITUATION ABOUT.

9. Q. IT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN AN AMBITION FOR MANY BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS, TO SETTLE THE IRISH QUESTION.

A. YES INDEED AND I THINK HAROLD WILSON HOPED MORE THAN OTHERS THAT HE WOULD BECAUSE HE ALWAYS SAID THAT HE HAD MORE IRISH PEOPLE VOTING FOR HIM THAN SEAN LEMASS AND MYSELF TOGETHER HAD. WELL THAT WAS PROBABLY TRUE IN THE SENSE THAT HE WAS A REPRESENTING A CONSTITUENCY WITH A HUGE ELECTORATE AND A LOT OF IRISH PEOPLE AND HE WAS FIRST PAST THE POST, (WHEREAS) SEAN LEMASS AND I USUALLY STOOD IN FIVE SEAT CONSTITUENCIES. BUT, HOWEVER, I THINK HAROLD WILSON DID HAVE AN INTEREST IN IRELAND

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GENERALLY AND IN FACT HE MANIFESTED THAT INTEREST IN A VARIETY OF WAYS. WHEN FOR EXAMPLE HE HELPED US IN-NOTWITHSTANDING RATHER SLOW GOING ON BEHALF OF THE PART OF SOME OF HIS MINISTERS-TO CREATE THE END (RESULT) TO IMPLEMENT ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT SEVEN YEARS AGO AND AS WELL AS THAT-NO IT WAS MORE THAN SEVEN YEARS AGO, ABOUT TEN YEARS AGO. AND, YOU REMEMBER, HE RETURNED THE CASEMENT REMAINS AND THE FLAG THAT WAS USED OUTSIDE THE GPO IN 1916, SO I THINK HE HAS SHOWN HIS GOOD WILL IN MANY AREAS, AND I WOULD HAVE HOPED OF COURSE THAT HE COULD HAVE SOLVED THE IRISH QUESTION AS THEY CALLED IT BEFORE HE CEASED TO BE PRIME MINISTER, BUT THAT'S NOT TO SAY THAT JAMES CALLAGHAN OR EVEN BEFORE HIM, EDWARD HEATH, LACKED ANY BONA FIDE IN THAT RESPECT I BELIEVE THEY WANTED TO AT LEAST BRING PEACE TO NORTHERN IRELAND.

10. Q. YOU MENTIONED A MOMENT AGO SEAN LEMASS, HIS DAUGHTER, MRS. PEGGY LEMASS O'BRIAN IN A LETTER TO THE NEWSPAPERS DURING THE WEEK SAID THAT HER FATHER HAD TALKED TO THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE SIX, THE THEN SIX EEC COUNTRIES AND HAD EXTRACTED PROMISES THAT THE CONDITION OF OUR MEMBERSHIP OF THE EEC WOULD BE THE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND. NOW YOU NEGOTIATED WITH MR. HAUGHEY THE TERMS OF OUR ENTRY I THINK IN 1966 YOU DID A EUROPEAN TOUR. WAS THAT EVER A CONDITION IN YOUR OWN MIND?

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USIA-15 HA-05 /075 W
-----107317 101805Z /53

P R 101645Z JAN 78
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A. WELL I WENT, NOT ONLY IN 1966, BIT I WENT TO BRUSSELS IN 1961 WITH MR. LEMASS AND WE INITIALLY PRESENTED OUR APPLICATION

THAT WAS AT THE SAME TIME AS THE BRITISH DID THEIRS AND YOU REMEMBER SUBSEQUENTLY THE FRENCH VETO, GENERAL DEGAULLE VETOED THE BRITISH APPLICATION AND THEREFORE OUR APPLICATION WAS TERMINATED OR AT LEAST WAS STOPPED IN ITS TRACKS WITH THE BRITISH BUT CERTAINLY AT THAT TIME WHEN WE PRESENTED OUR APPLICATION NEITHER IN WRITTEN FORM NOR IN ORAL FORM DID MR. LEMASS HIMSELF, THERE WAS NO MENTION OF ANY PRECONDITION IN RELATION TO THE NORTH OF IRELAND. HE DID GO TO SEE SOME HEADS OF STATE IN ORDER TO, YOU KNOW, INDICATE TO THEM HOW SERIOUS WE WERE ABOUT OUR APPLICATION FOR ENTRY AND HOW WELL FITTED WE WERE FOR ENTRY. I DIDN'T ACCOMPANY HIM ON ANY OF THESE TRIPS BUT HE CERTAINLY NEVER SAID TO ME NOR TO THE CABINET OPENLY THAT HE HAD MENTIONED TO ANY OF THESE HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT THAT THE ABANDONING BY THE BRITISH OF THEIR HOLD ON THE NORTH WAS A PRECONDITION OF OUR ENTRY.

11. Q. BUT YOU LATER MET MANY OF THOSE HEADS OF STATE, DID THEY MENTION IT TO YOU?

A. NOT AT ALL THERE WAS NOT ONE WORD MENTIONED ABOUT IT, AND I KNOW IF II HAD MENTIONED IT THAT WE WOULDN'T INTERFERE WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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MATTERS AFFECTING TWO COUNTRIES AND I THINK THAT'S AS IT SHOULD BE I DON'T EXPECT THAT GENERAL DEGAULLE OR WILLY BRANDT OR WHOEVER WAS THE CHANCELLOR OF GERMANY AT THE TIME OR THE ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER, OR THE DUTCH, BELGIAN OR LUXUMBOURG PRIME MINISTERS WOULD HAVE TAKEN ON THAT TASK TO SAY TO BRITAIN UNLESS YOU GET OUT OF NORTHERN IRELAND YOU WON'T BE LET INTO THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. I DON'T THINK THAT IT WAS REALISTIC. I DON'T IF, I MEAN I CAN'T DENY WHAT MR. LEMASS SAID TO HIS OWN FAMILY, CERTAINLY HE NEVER SAID IT TO ME I WAS WITH HIM ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIRST APPLICATION AND HE NEVER SAID IT SQUENTLY IN GOVERNMENT.

12. Q. TAOISEACH, STILL ON NORTHERN IRELAND, DO YOU THINK THAT PEACE IS COMING, THAT THE PROVOS ARE BEATEN?

A. WELL I DON'T THINK YOU CAN TALK ABOUT DEFEAT OR VICTORY IN THIS CONTEXT. I HOPE PEACE IS COMING. THERE DID SEEM TO BE A REDUCTION IN VIOLENCE OVER THE LAST YEAR OR SO. THERE HAS BEEN SOME INCREASE IN CERTAINLY IN BOMBINGS, IN SETTING FIRE TO PREMISES OVER THE FIRST FEW DAYS OF THIS YEAR, I HOPE IT DOWN'T INCREASE OR MAINTAIN THAT PACE BUT I WOULDN'T SUGGEST THAT THE PROVOS ARE DEFEATED, I HOPE THAT, RATHER THAT THEY REALIZE THE FUTILITY OF THE ACTIVITIES THEY HAVE BEEN ENGAGED ON FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PURPOSES THEY SAY THEY WANT TO ACHIEVE.

13. Q. TAOISEACH, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF PROVISIONALS IN JAILS

IN THE REPUBLIC. IF THE PROVISIONALS CEASE THE VIOLENCE, IF
PEACE DID COME, WOULD YOU GIVE AN AMNESTY TO THOSE PROVISIONALS -
IRA PRISONERS IN THE REPUBLIC JAILS.

A. WELL THAT WILL REMAIN TO BE SEEN. IN MOST CASES THESE PEOPLE
BROKE THE ORDINARY LAW OF THE LAND, AND NATURALLY ENOUGH IF
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PEACE CAME, IF THERE WAS A COMPLETE CEASE FIRE, WE WOULD LOOK
AT THE SITUATION AGAIN, AND I CAN'T SAY IN ADVANCE WHAT THE
GOVERNMENT WOULD DO. ITS A MATTER FOR THE COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY
OF THE GOVERNMENT. BUT AGAIN, WE ARE TALKING ON THE BASIS OF A
HYPOTHESES BUT IF THERE WAS A TERMINATION OF VIOLENCE AND IF
IT APPEARED THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY TO START AGAIN, NATURALLY THE
GOVERNMENT WOULD GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO SOME FORM OF
AMNESTY OR SOME FORM OF MITIGATION OF SENTENCES. END TEXT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRIME MINISTER
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978DUBLIN00070
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780014-1193
Format: TEL
From: DUBLIN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780182/aaaacqyy.tel
Line Count: 461
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: abad6de5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 feb 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3803008
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EXTRACT FROM IRISH PRIME MINISTER LYNCH'S RADIO EIREAN INTERVIEW, JANUARY 8. (EMBASSY TRANSCRIPT FROM TAPE.)
TAGS: PFOR, UK, EI
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/abad6de5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014